769 778 342 193 614 rectangular. Now, Coolhaas[1] says that in Manggarai there are two native forms, and he gives the native terms. One is conical and the other rectangular, or perhaps a bit oval in shape. However, the latter is not related to the former. There are areas of the one and the other, and evidently some areas have both. Now, the conical ones seem older, and on any surmise because round houses are simply older in Indonesia. Note then, that Ngada legends say that Djawa had seven daughters who became the ancestral mothers of the seven main voi. And they married men of the land, aborigines, here. The men are the ancestral fathers of the bhou. Could it be that [174] the conical male ancestor houses reflect the patrilineal aboriginal culture and the population stratum which lived in round houses, and the rectangular bhaga represent the incoming, matrilineal population and culture? If so, this says much about the double descent of Ngada, the peculiar legend, and the strange double ancestor houses. Now I think I know why there are those amazing conical male ancestor posts in Ngada.

193 611 342 563 The legends of Minangkabau immigration may be foolish, and the priest says he thinks it is built up more recently, by the younger folk who hear a name of an ancestor who came in and it sounds like "Minangkabau." But the surface evidence looks as though Manggarai and Ngada are a mixture of aborigines and immigrants. And there are also many evidences of double descent. I remember now that the priests talk much of enclaves of "autochthonous" folk in East Manggarai and East Nageh. They say that the people in these places are neither Manggarai nor Nageh. The Nageh enclave is originally from Soa, says Mommersteeg. I wish I knew whether these enclaves were patrilineal. Anyway, I doubt that they were unmixed. This may be a pretty good theory and may explain the umbrella houses.

[1] [See bibliography, cat.113 --Analyst]

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778 The negri lama of the suku Odja is about one-
753 half kilometer outside Ratebedi in the distant hills. No one lives there now, but there are stones, etc. (I think he said images too.) The Ratebedi folk give offerings there. This was the kampong of the great ancestor Odja Djata (the father of Odja was Djata). There are many such old places which are dangerous, for example, the assistant went to one such place near Pamudjera, and he got sick at once.

[764] There is always talk of danger in fooling around with old places and old rules. Thus, not long ago two men of Watu Roga set a stone boundary marker in the earth, but this is taboo. In three days one was dead and in three months the other died.

● 174 If I could get all of the information about each kampong and suku I could rebuild the whole history of migrations, etc. And although most of the people have lost these stories, there are a good number of old men in Volofea and Bu'ube'i who could tell everything.

115 The assistant says he will try to get information on all these things as he does his "control" work in his job as secretary of the gemeente. He asks for a good notebook and a briefcase to do this work! I don't trust him, that's all. He plots, and the story is that when I come back years from now he will have all the facts. Thus he put together my interest in these things, my statement that I might return to do more work here, and out of hopes to get a notebook and case fabricated his plan.

423 The land is family-owned (maybe lineage-
614 owned is a better way of phrasing it). The
592 eldest son is the manager of the family land.
428 Others work on it. If there are no sons, the eldest daughter runs it, or maybe the deceased father's brother. The father may split up his estate among his sons, or give each one of his

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796 story is clear in their minds.
241 Note also that a Sumba girl was sacrificed
782 for dry springs and fertility. The pieces were sent all over the island. Here we clearly have a pattern. I wonder if perhaps the proto-Malay
● [74] strength in Lio may show a Sumba link, and human sacrifice of this sort may not have come into Flores with an eastward migration. There is a fair chance, I think, that they had at least two migrations into Flores: one from the west, the proto-Malay (and thence perhaps the stories in regard to Sina Djawa); and the other from the east, the Negroid migration, and thence the stories in regard to Kroko Putang and other ancestors from Timor, etc.

The tuno wudjo, ideally one for each suku and ama, are still used in ceremonies of all the kampongs here except Leloba and Lewoneda. Wailolong still uses them. The Catholics do not make much fuss about this. The Catholics must allow the rites. The tuno wudjo must fast for half a year or thereabouts, that is, there is a taboo on animals sacrificed for agriculture for them (could it be because they are substitutes for the tuno wudjo themselves, or is this too wild a guess?). It is notable anyway that only two kampongs have discontinued the tuno wudjo so far in this largely Catholic area. It shows how recent and relatively partial the Catholic hold on the population is here. It also shows how strong the agricultural base of paganism is and how important food can be in these terribly poor areas. The people cannot afford to take a chance, even with the old gods.

[771] I can discern no Hindu or Buddhistic elements here at all.

[346] [614] The korke is the kampong temple. In addition, each suku and each ama has its barn for the "adat" rice, corn, etc. This is like a kind of temple too, and ceremonies such as I saw were

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567 saw hundreds of Toradjas being brought into Palopo as slaves by the Buginese.

177 565 621 ●174 [614] If it is so that the dalu were put in by the Bima administration, perhaps originally there might have been only the gelarang, the tuan tanah that is, and the commoners. Maybe the latter were aborigines, and the first conquest brought in the gelarang class. But this seems unlikely, as the gelarang tuan tanah class looks very ancient here. (For example, the Veol clan ancestors came out of bamboo right at the Veol spring.) Anyway, some clans seemed to be higher and others lower, perhaps as in Lio, where some are of the tuan tanah rank and others are not, or like the situation in Ende, where some have mosa laki and others do not. Long ago, and the assistant says perhaps three hundred years, the kraeng came in from Todo and Pongkor. Perhaps they were Minangkabau who came in through Makassar. They say so. But they have no matrilineal system so far as I know, and they have the va'u system like all the people in Manggarai. And the language is the same. However, I asked the assistant if I was right in that the kraeng had a different accent, and he said yes, but this may be a mere local difference.

The assistant says that he knows the legends say that the dalu came from outside somewhere. But their names are Manggarai, and they have the va'u system too. Question: are they Todo-Pongkor kraeng who were elevated, some of them, to the dalu status by Bima. Are they Bimanese in origin? Are they gelarang who were elevated by Bima? It is certain that Bima put them in. I would favor the first explanation, but am bothered by the fact that some kampongs were under dalu and others under Todo and Pongkor kraeng. It looks as though they had a double rule here above the gelarang level, which was

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565 the old adat:
621 (1) The dalu rule, centering on Bima.
●174 (2) The kraeng rule, centering on Todo and
177 Pongkor.

177 Thus the locals may have been merely under a
565 double rule, and the actual supremacy of Todo-
621 Pongkor or Bima was never really resolved. It
634 may be that it was like the Madjapahit situa-
[174] tion in outlying areas: the local princes were partly to a largely degree independent and oppressed the locals (the Todo-Pongkor ones here), and the proconsuls of the central government got what they could for the sultan (the dalu). The question remains, whence the dalu? And I must find out whether the dalu family trees are the same as those of the kraeng. Note, incidentally, that the radja is of the Todo kraeng.

It may be that there is a strange unassimilation of rule here. There is the radja, whose supporters would be the kraeng scattered all over (and I heard the first day that "there are a few kraeng of the radja's family now in Tjantjar; they have gotten land there." I wrote at the time: "Any story here?" There seems to be
[578] one. Now comes the question whether the dalu work with the radja, or are still a bit independent, as sort of survivals of the Bima days (and the Dutch days that replaced Bima)? And what of the gelarang? Are they more for the radja or for the dalu? Or are there no tensions at all?

578 I remember that the Radja when he was a bit
634 drunk during the feast told us that he would
565 advise us and tell us of possible dangers, etc. My guess is that all is not peaceful and happy here. Why? There seems to be no real exploitation any more, but perhaps there is a remembered resentment against the kraeng. And the mandur said that the Radja was not really Manggarai,

565 614 (3) There are one hundred per cent kraeng va'u, e.g., Puruk.

(4) There are one hundred per cent dalu va'u, e.g., Rahong.

(5) There is a radja va'u, of kraeng rang, i.e., Todo.

974 The history may be something like this:

621 565 (1) Originally, and until about three hundred years ago: the gelarang tuan tanah district chiefs were in, with kampong ramifications.

634 648 (2) About three hundred years ago until 1900: the period of Todo-Pongkor kraeng conquest, with also some Makassarese rule from the north (Goa) and Bima rule also.

(3) 1909--1929: Dutch rule without radja.

(4) 1929--1941: Dutch rule with radja.

(5) 1941--1949: Japanese, and later Dutch influence, the latter putting in the East Indonesian negara.

(6) 1949-- : The new Indonesia, with the Dutch gone, but the radja still here, as well as the dalu and the kraeng.

The only real power still alien in this area is that of the Todo-Pongkor kraeng (radja). What will happen?

582 614 I checked over the marriages in Veol and Ndung, but the assistant will get the va'u of the inmarrying women. However, it looks as though there is no pattern. Looking only at the kampongs whence the inmarriers came, I can find just about no system; the twenty-seven women who married men of Veol came from twenty different kampongs (highest frequency was three). The four men who married women of Veol and came here to live are from three kampongs (highest frequency two).

The twenty-nine women who married men of Ndung came from twenty kampongs (highest frequency four: Tjumbi; another three: Tjara).

The nine men who married women of Ndung and

We In regard to the Radja and the land matter,
425 I finally got it straight. The radja and kraeng
565 used to take what they wanted, worked or un-
634 worked. Also, they used to make the lampang
661 work the unworked fields and gardens. Starting
466 about two years ago there has been no more free
178 labor, but the radja and the kraeng must pay wages. If anyone resisted before, he and the whole family could be enslaved instantly. Even now, they can generally get undeveloped land for the asking when a new field is laid out, but they must work it themselves or pay laborers wages. They do not need to pay for undeveloped fields, any more than the local folk have to pay for them. But other aliens, like the assistant here, must buy such land. If the radja or kraeng wants to obtain developed land today, he must pay for the labor done on it. Even the last remaining privilege, to ask and get a piece of undeveloped land, is in danger. A year ago, in Dalong, the folk took back from the radja a piece of land that had been given him and that he had worked. Thus the old privileges die under merdeka.

565 All of the above information about the dalu
624 being here only since 1880 is wrong. Coolhaas 1
167 has reported that dalu were in Manggarai in
174 the eighteenth century. Their origin is unknown. The assistant says that they all came from overseas. The gelarang were merely tuan tanah. The kraeng were among the dalu. They were originally the dalu of the Todo-Pongkor area. Thus the dalu have been here for a long time. They were evidently pro-consuls of Bima and Makassar (which fought long over Manggarai). The pastor says that he thinks some of them were originally locals who were elevated, and others came from the outside. The assistant insists that their family trees are different from those of the gelarang. Maybe they represent a partly elevated gelarang and partly kraeng from Todo-

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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565 Pongkor. The whole thing is in the dark. I
624 must check Coolhaas at length. The names of
167 the dalu are all Manggarai, and simple. The
174 Radja merely has a Manggarai name.

166 The newcomers in the kampongs here are no
621 cause for worry, because the original kampong
614 dwellers keep control, no matter how many new-
comers there are and how few of them are left.
There is a kampong where there are only three
old households left, and there are about forty
outside households. The three keep control.

Those who have come into the kampongs here
comprise both unmarried and married folk. The
[567] former all marry in. Some of the present folk
who are named as of va'u Veol may well be of
slave origin. Slaves were taken into the va'u
of their owners. Everyone in the kampong knows
which families in the va'u are of slave origin,
but they will not tell outsiders. It is cer-
tain that the slaves are among the va'u Veol
folk, if any.

Usually newcomers have relatives within the
kampong, and this is the way so many Tjumbi
entered. These relatives form an opening
wedge, and others follow. This is like immi-
gration in the United States.

Very few come into the kampong and then
leave. The only case is the Tjepang clan. It
entered long ago and left about twenty years
ago for Tjantjar, en masse. This happens often.
A clan enters and increases so much, while the
original clan also increases in size, that in
the end the original clan says that the immi-
[624] grant clan must move. Then the other clan is
given a gong-gendang, one of them becomes the
tuan tanah of the branch kampong, and off they
go. This is what happened in the case of Tjant-
jar.

624 The man who becomes the branch tuan tanah is
[614] the tuan panga of the clan. He gets the gong-